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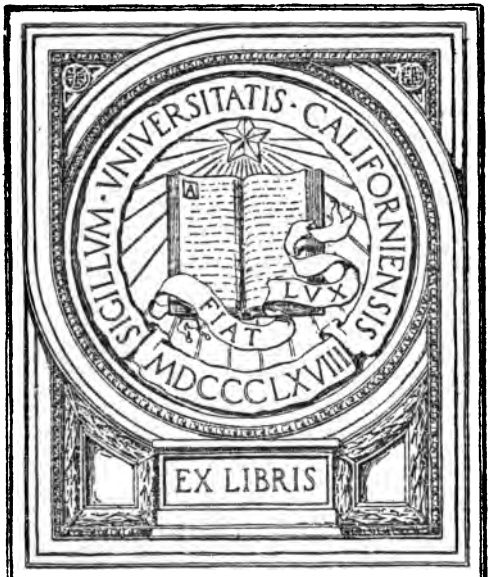

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THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OF YOUTH

BY

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EDUCATIONAL

To

MRS. PAULINE AGASSIZ SHAW

WISE AND GENEROUS FRIEND OF YOUTH

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INTRODUCTION

THREE of the important tendencies in the educational activities of to-day are everywhere engaging the serious attention of thoughtful people within and without the teaching profession. These tendencies are really only different phases of one comprehensive movement for approximating more closely our democratic ideal of individual welfare and social progress. These tendencies are the safeguarding and promotion of bodily health and vigor by an important extension of the work of departments of school hygiene and physical training in our schools; the progressive establishment of public vocational schools of elementary and secondary grade, i. e., of vocational schools other than professional schools, for increasing the efficiency of all who must work for wages; and a widespread effort to make the non-vocational schools we already have, of every grade and kind, more vital — to make the pupil's school life so signifi-

cant a part of his whole life that it shall be and remain a permanent guiding force, no matter at what point his school life must close.

The increased attention to bodily health and strength in school is the natural concomitant of the awakened public interest in physical health and strength, not merely for our physical welfare but also as one of our most important social resources. Quite apart from the misery ill-health or physical weakness usually entails, it is clear that economic efficiency depends on it. The relation of a youth's physical health and vigor to success and satisfaction in his vocation is clear. If, possessing physical inaptitude or weakness, he enters a pursuit that is not adapted to him, only moderate usefulness and perhaps early incapacity must be his fate. Neither he nor society can afford to take such a risk. Hence the necessity of a close relation and ultimate coöperation between all the agencies for promoting the public health and vocational guidance.

The establishment of schools at public expense for the training of workers in our industries, on

our farms, and in commerce is making decided progress. Throughout the country such schools are discussed or already actually established, with more to follow. Schools of commerce, of industry, of agriculture, whether day schools, part-time schools, day and evening continuation schools, are a response to the demand for increasing economic efficiency, without which individual welfare and social progress are impossible. The opportunities for vocational training thus afforded and the growing demand for more opportunities obviously point to the necessity of wise choice on the part of those who are to profit by them, and hence the close relation between vocational guidance and vocational training.

The movement for vocational education has directed attention to the aims and work of the existing public schools with a view to appraising the social significance of that work, and particularly its significance with respect to the vocations toward which they point their pupils, and what vocational preparation they should offer. Such an examination of the aims and work of the

public schools is by no means new, it is in fact perennial; but the recent and contemporary interest in vocational education has reënforced it. Hence a conspicuous tendency in educational activity to-day is the effort to make the school a more effective factor in shaping the pupil's career. While enabling him to appreciate the spiritual and institutional (political) resources and problems of our age, it shall also render him responsive to our economic resources and problems, and in particular it shall bring home to him the importance and the dignity of *work* of all kinds as the foundation of all individual and social welfare.

It is clear that with this tendency well established in the schools the question of vocational guidance is a pressing question. Where this tendency is not yet marked, vocational guidance is even more vital, for there the pupil is likely to be quite helpless when he makes the momentous transition from school to work. This transition cannot be safe unless the choice of the pupil's life career is deliberate. Even then mistakes will be made, but we may expect they will be

insignificant in number and importance as compared with the mistakes of random choice or mere "hunting a job."

It is clear that much preparation is needed by those on whom the duty of vocational guidance may fall. Information must be had of the young people themselves, their physical condition, their capacity, their ambitions, the opportunities and circumstances of their lives; similarly, information is needed about occupations, their advantages and disadvantages in view of the natural and acquired equipment for them possessed by their prospective workers; the kind of preparation required for them, and the extent and quality of the available preparation for a progressive career in them, and what success in them means. To gather this information and make it available for use will require time and effort. And to give satisfactory guidance by properly trained persons to the great body of young people whose life work is now almost inevitably determined by chance, will require an army of devoted workers.

It is clear, also, that one important duty of the advisers of youth is to bring home to all who

can be brought to see it the enormous value of more education for every capable pupil, no matter when he leaves school, — and no matter whether the chief purpose of the school he attends is to give general education or to prepare him for a particular calling. One valuable result of satisfactory vocational guidance ought to be, therefore, to lengthen the period of education for all but the incurably dull or the permanently unambitious.

Mr. Bloomfield's work has long required him to study the problems of vocational guidance, and as Director of the recently organized Vocation Bureau of Boston he is necessarily brought face to face with those problems in all their variety and complexity. The insight he has gained and the suggestions based on it are made available in the present monograph to teachers, parents, and the general public. He has made an important contribution to the solution of the problems of vocational guidance. The vital need of such guidance is clearly set forth, and the encouraging beginnings of organized effort to secure preparation for discharging satisfactorily

the duty of vocational guidance are described. It is clearly shown, also, that vocational guidance does not mean helping boys and girls to find work, but to find the kind of work they are best fitted by nature and training to do well. It does not mean prescribing a vocation. It does mean bringing to bear on the choice of a vocation organized information and organized common sense.

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THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE OF YOUTH

I

THE CHOICE OF A LIFE-WORK AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

"He therefore sometimes took me to walk with him," writes Benjamin Franklin of his father, "and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, etc., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavor to fix it on some trade or other on land."

The busy age we live in does not seem so favorable for the kindly offices of youth's natural advisers. While many a parent, teacher, or friend spends energy and sympathy to give some girl or boy vocational suggestion and help, the fact is clear enough that a vast majority of the young people in our land enter upon their careers as breadwinners in the trades and professions unguided and uninformed. Chance is usually given

the upper hand to make or mar the critical period of working life.

At no other time in history have the sons and daughters of the people been turned out to earn their living on so large a scale, or into so complex a social order. Never has there been so great a need as now for intelligent coöperation with the novitiates in the vocational life.

Young Franklin on a brief visit to the shop or foundry could probably have seen a whole trade in process. To-day this could scarcely be. Minute division of labor, specialization to a degree that leaves the average worker in ignorance of the steps which go before or follow his own partial operations, do not encourage the same personal view of industry. Commerce and the liberal professions are hardly less detailed, and hardly less in the hands of specialists. Spinning, weaving, and the making of a coat, the manufacture of nails, watches, and shoes involve scores of operations. Likewise the management of a store, an office, or a factory calls for qualities peculiar to a highly developed age of applied science. A new profession has arisen in the efficiency engineer,

whose business it is to study the costly results of overlooked waste and extravagance in our large-scale production and distribution of goods. Big establishments are working out personal data sheets in order to measure scientifically the value of their employees. One specialty store in Boston has developed a system of personal records which leaves little to guess-work in the employment and promotion of its eight hundred or more people.

We are indeed living in the midst of a restless period, impatient with crudeness, and too preoccupied to pause over the stumblings and gropings of its bewildered youth. Into this arena of tense effort, the schools of our country send out their annual thousands. We somehow trust that the tide of opportunity may carry them to some vocational destination. Only the relatively few who reach the higher training institutions can be said to have their problems at least temporarily solved during the critical period of adolescence. What becomes of that young multitude sent out to cope with the new conditions of self-support? Whose business is it to follow up the results of this transition from school to work?

Whose business is it to audit our social accounts, and discover how far our costly enterprises in education, the pain, the thought, the skill and the sacrifice we put forth with the growing generation, are well or ill invested in the field of occupation? These are vital questions, and perhaps the most vital is how far the work our children turn to is the result of choice, accident, or necessity. The higher training schools are as profoundly concerned in this problem as are the elementary schools. The well-to-do are no less affected than the poor. Until society faces the question of the life careers of its youth, the present vocational anarchy will continue to beset the young work-seekers. Wasting their golden youth, they discover too late how much a helpful suggestion at the critical moment might have shaped their destinies. They are unhappy and discouraged, and hence the pitiful letters written to those who care about these problems, from men and women who realize too late the reason for their futility as workers.

Society has been slow to recognize the need of coöperating with its future workers in the

choice of their careers. It has not realized that successful choice of life-work is impossible to the unadvised and the unprepared. Common sense tells us that intelligent selection of life-work is the result of intelligent preparation. We cannot expect youth to find itself vocationally without furnishing it with the raw material for thoughtful selection. In other words, there can be no one detached day or moment for choosing, but rather all one's training is tested by the culminating process of deciding on a vocation.

Now real selection is impossible where the range of occupation is a dark continent. Choice, like play, is usually the product of many influences, not the least of which are suggestion and imitation. The children of a neglected neighborhood mimic the drunken woman arrested by the policeman, while those of the well supervised city playground have opened to them a world of wholesome activities. A city kindergarten teacher spending her vacation in a Nova Scotia fishing hamlet gathered about her one day a group of the fishermen's children. She tried them at the game of "Trades." They could go

through the motions only of net-making, hauling in of fish, and the simple household crafts of spinning, carding, and weaving which they saw their mothers and grandmothers engage in. The motions of the urban workers, like the plumber, engineer, the merchant, and the newsboy were quite meaningless to these children.

The young people of a crowded district imitate the ambulance driver, the fireman, the street-cleaner and the actor of cheap melodrama; but when older, and the sense of adventure is less keen in their impulse for vocational expression, one finds how much local social ambitions count. The neighborhood doctor who drives about in a shiny buggy, or perhaps in a motor car with conspicuous red-cross devices; the lawyer and his nonchalance in the dread police court of the district; the dentist with his gilt signs across a private dwelling in the tenement district, carrying proudly the title of doctor; and the druggist — that master of confections and magic drugs — these weigh heavily in the family judgment at the infrequent vocational conferences of the tenement home. To be sure, there is the school-

teacher, the civil engineer, and the man on the road, whose rise from the unfavorable environment carries vocational suggestion to the neighborhood, but this is feeble compared to the potent example of local social esteem which the above-mentioned personages carry.

It is in our centres of population, in the apartment and tenement house districts, that the masses of children are to be found. Here is the most need for unfolding the panorama of occupations to the quick intelligences of the young people. Parents here are busy day and night, and family relationships often suffer. The teachers preside over large classes, and these neighborhoods are filled with a crowd of the unskilled, the poorly paid, the unemployed, and the misemployed. It is a place of high lights and deep shadows; and for thousands of children, life opens unpromisingly. Democracy probably still holds out its opportunities to the child that can avail himself of them. But the gifted as well as the ungifted live here equally doomed to undeveloping and cheaply paid labor.

Marshall the economist has told us how large

a proportion of genius is lost to society because it is born among the children of the poor, where it perishes for want of opportunity. We have no plan for conserving the talents of the poor; no plan for conserving the resources of the immigrant. Our schools are fettered by routine. Any social experimentation calculated to call forth the gifts of the new peoples is left to private philanthropy. A large proportion of the children in our cities who leave school for work as soon as the law allows are foreign born or the children of foreign born. Surely the hard-driven parent stuggling for a foothold in an alien country must fail as a vocational adviser to his children. The truth is that parents do not tell their children what they should be, but the children tell them what they are going to be.

Who shall help such children? To whom shall they turn for counsel and information about the vocations? The gathering of helpful occupational information involves painstaking labor and large resources. Such information calls for the correlation of a variety of facts from many and often unfamiliar sources. An illustration of the kind

of service needed is to be found in the use made by one vocational adviser of a report on tuberculosis in the various industries, issued by the Massachusetts State Board of Health. The report disclosed the fact that granite-cutting was among the most dangerous occupations. From his experience as a social worker, this adviser knew that many Italians are employed in quarries and stone-yards, and that very many Italians return to their own country to die of the white plague. He took pains, therefore, to point out wherever he could, particularly to teachers, that when an Italian boy intended to work at stone-cutting, the parent should see to it that a medical examination gave the boy a pulmonary clean bill; for the weak-lunged Italian boy who took up stone-cutting would probably be committing suicide.

Another illustration of vocational help has been the work of a young woman who some years ago was in charge of a small library in a social settlement on the East Side of New York. Her idea of circulating books was to work out with each boy and girl the kind of book that would

best minister to his or her needs. And those needs were studied with infinite care. Her quiet ministrations brought to the knowledge of the ambitious and idealistic youth of her neighborhood vocations that were unknown to them before. Forestry, social research, library science, neighborhood work, social and civic service were the careers opened to young boys and girls in touch with the library and the other influences which in time clustered about that institution. And those careers are followed to-day with no little distinction by the graduates of that vitalizing influence.

The time has gone by for a *laissez-faire* attitude toward this most fundamental of conservation needs. The success achieved by those who have helped to shape a youth's destiny is not fully explained by pointing to gifts of insight and patience of the adviser, or to the exceptional qualities of the boys and girls who could benefit by an interest in their welfare. To content one's self with such explanations is to doom the mass of our children to barren lives, a loss to themselves and to the community. After all, it is with

the usual and not with the exceptional individual that the community must mainly concern itself, and results that are worth while have attended even modest efforts at vocational guidance of a large group, as of a school, a club, or like organization. The time for doing something to help young people choose their life-work is at hand. Only a backward social conscience will palliate a lack of energy to attempt a remedy, however tentative, for the present chaos in the transition from schooling to self-support.

II

VOCATIONAL CHAOS AND SOME OF ITS CONSEQUENCES

EVIDENCE of what the let-alone policy is costing society may be found on every hand. A talk with any intelligent employer or with almost any parent, teacher, or student of social conditions reveals an astonishing abundance of testimony. Indeed, the yield of information is only equaled by the extensive failure to do something about it. Little argument is needed to make out a case in behalf of a plan for the vocational guidance of youth; and yet, on the whole, no problem has elicited so little effort to meet it in the constructive way which modern methods of dealing with social problems suggest.

Perhaps the most impressive body of facts bearing on the consequences of our failure to face the vocational interests of youth is to be found in the report issued in England a year ago by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and

Relief of Distress. Nothing has more deeply impressed that Commission in the course of its exhaustive investigation than the wanton pauperization of England's energetic youth.

In the Majority Report, the Commissioners lay stress on the great prominence given to boy labor not only in the evidence which came before them, but also in the various reports of the special investigators; and the conviction is expressed that this is perhaps the most serious of the phenomena which they have encountered in their study of unemployment. Well-trained boys find it difficult enough to secure a foothold in the skilled trades; but if in addition to this there are the temptations to crowd the occupations which promise no skill, promise no outlook, no future, the fact is clear that such conditions in the British Empire are making directly for unemployment in the future.

The Minority Report is even more emphatic. It points out the effects of entering "blind-alley" occupations, and states that perpetual recruitment of the unemployable by tens of thousands of boys is perhaps the gravest of all the grave

facts which the Commissioners laid bare. "We cannot believe," the Commissioners say, "that the nation can long persist in ignoring the fact that the unemployed, and particularly the underemployed and unemployable are thus being daily created under our eyes out of bright young lives, capable of better things, for whose training we make no provision. It is, unfortunately, only too clear that the mass of unemployment is continually being recruited by a stream of young men from industries which rely upon unskilled boy labor, and turn it adrift at manhood without any general or special industrial qualification, and that it will never be diminished till this stream is arrested."

Prof. Michael E. Sadler, in commenting on the evidence before the Royal Commission, states that boys and girls are tempted by the ease, the fairly good wages, and the sense of independence in entering occupations that leave them at the time when they begin to need an adult's subsistence wholly out of line for skilled employments. They are driven into the ranks of the unskilled. Certain forms of industry squander in this way

the physical and the moral capital of the rising generation. His conclusions are that if no counteracting measures are taken, great and lasting injury will befall the national life.

An official report some years ago on boys leaving the London elementary schools shows that forty per cent became errand and chore boys, fourteen per cent shop boys, eight per cent office boys and minor clerks, while only eighteen per cent went definitely into trades. There is a fairly satisfactory law in England governing employment in factories and work-shops. It is the unregulated drift from a vast variety of juvenile occupations into the low-skilled labor market that presents grave aspects. In his study of boy labor, Mr. Cyril Jackson points out that few boys ever pick up skill after a year or two spent on errand or similar work. The larger number fall into low-skilled and casual employments.

Ample confirmation of the Royal Commission's findings may be found in the report of the Consultative Committee on Attendance at Continuation Schools in England and Wales, published

at about the same time. The conclusions from its exhaustive investigations and its interviews with scores of employers and others read much like the pages of the Royal Commission's report. The evils of educational neglect during adolescence, this Committee finds, are often aggravated by the facility with which blind-alley occupations are entered. Such employments as that of errand boy are not necessarily demoralizing. Many a boy has started in this humble way on a career of success. But callings like this are apt to waste the years during which a boy should make a beginning at a skilled or developing occupation. The probabilities are that younger, but trained, competitors eventually oust the untrained workers, and at a time when these untrained workers are charged with adult responsibilities.

The necessity of guidance intended to avert the entrance of thousands of boys and girls into a vocational *cul-de-sac* is appreciated by this Committee. Its conviction is clearly expressed that the most dangerous point in the lives of children in an elementary school is the moment at which they leave it. The investigations have shown

how difficult is the taking of the right step at this stage, and the lamentable consequences of taking a wrong one. This difficulty is due in large measure to the inability of parents to get the necessary information as to the conditions of employment, the wages, and the future prospects of various occupations, as well as a knowledge of the educational opportunities and requirements for efficiency in the occupations. The Committee has found that there are parents who are under no compulsion to send their children to work, and that they would be both able and willing to accept lower wages at first for the sake of subsequent advantages in the vocations; but their ignorance of these matters makes it impossible for them to select wisely for their children. "Unless children are thus cared for at this turning-point in their lives," says the Consultative Committee, "the store of knowledge and discipline acquired at school will be quickly dissipated, and they will soon become unfit either for employment or for further education." [1]

The intervening years, then, between leaving

[1] Report of the Consultative Committee, p. 22.

school, which the great majority do at fourteen years of age, and the entrance into an occupation that promises any development at all are largely wasted. Society gains little by the labor of thousands of its children at the most important period of their growth. It is not that much of this work is not of social value, but with our present neglect we offer no corrective for the injury that follows. The reports of the two commissions on Industrial Education in Massachusetts; investigations into street trades in Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere; and all the observations of the child-saving societies in this country confirm the Royal Commission's alarm over juvenile labor as now performed.

The employer is very often as much a victim of these conditions as the boy himself. The allurement of high wages for uninstructive work is soon understood by many a boy, and his restlessness in these occupations, where often, without any provocation, he throws up his place, is a constant source of vexation and destroys any plan which the employer might have in view for the promotion of his boys. This skipping from

job to job can only mean for most boys demoralization. They become vocational hoboes. They are given work only because nobody else is in sight, and they stay at work as little as they may. Juvenile wages are their portion, no matter what services they render, nor for how long a period. A tragic situation is here disclosed. Not only do we find that modern working conditions "put a man on the shelf" in the prime of his years, because the speed and skill of younger brains and hands are required, but we find, too, a shelving of youth itself before life has given the young workers even an opening. They seem doomed to be juvenile adults bound by an iron law of juvenile wages. The "dead end," or "blind alley" occupations, therefore, with their bait of high initial wages and their destructiveness to any serious life-work motive are breeding costly social evils. Unanimous testimony on this point by the special investigators of the Royal Commission has led to the opinion that this perhaps is the most serious of all the problems encountered in its study of unemployment. A term of sinister import has

been coined to describe the products of this vocational anarchy — the Unemployables.

The unemployables are people whom no ordinary employer would willingly employ, not necessarily because of their physical or mental incapacity, but because their economic backbone has been broken. The wasted years have landed their innocent victims on economic quicksands. Attractive wages with no training, the illegitimate use of youthful energy, long hours of monotonous and uneducative work, have produced at his majority a young man often precocious in evil and stunted in his vocational possibilities.

It is quite clear that provision for adequate training and systematic counseling at the period of life when boys and girls are most largely thrown upon their individual resources would help correct these lamentable conditions. The movement for vocational education rests solidly on an appreciation of the facts. Education has become more practical because it has become more democratic. Preparing youth for a serviceable life is the ideal of the modern educator. This

preparation is also for a life of larger appreciation and wider sympathies than the old-fashioned liberal education alone can give. Neither the home, the common school, nor the present-day conditions of breadwinning can give youth the necessary preparation for efficient living. The stress of competition, large-scale operations of production and distribution, the subdivision and speed of labor, the higher standards of professional equipment, make it well-nigh impossible for youth to get its necessary instruction during the period of work alone. In industry the boys are taken on, not as apprentices, but as "process workers" where, while becoming expert in one minute operation, they learn nothing of the fundamental principles of the work on which the plastic period of their youth is spent. Where are the boy and girl to find that training which shall reasonably assure them self-support and vocational progress? Not a few employers confessedly expect their competitors to bear the brunt of training employees, who are eagerly appropriated when they have become proficient. The "learners" in almost every desirable occu-

pation are expected to know something and amount to something from the very outset in employment.

New demands are made upon the public school system as the agency for solving the problem of vocational education. The right of every child to secure the best possible chance in life makes necessary the public control of vocational training. The future development of our industries, the creation of high-grade productive enterprises which pay good wages and demand intelligent workers, call for the training of large masses, such as the public schools alone can reach. Employers demand well-trained youth for their shops and offices, and they take the schools to task for the ill-equipped product turned out. Vocational education is growing into a nation-wide movement.

Underlying the demand for intelligently productive youth both in the trades and in the professions, there is another which the movement for vocational guidance will make insistent. It is proper that those who give employment to boys and girls shall ask for more efficiency. It is whole-

some for any public institution to be measured by concrete tests and be called upon to render account of its work. But it is equally a right and duty of those entrusted with the nurture of the rising generation to make the vocations render account too. What happens to the boys and girls under the new influences in employment is not alone a question between them and their individual employer, nor between them and their parents, but it is essentially one for the community.

The social protection of the young ceases artificially and arbitrarily when the school working certificate is granted. This ought not to continue so. On the contrary, ought not the few years after leaving school to be the time for most careful scrutiny by the public? While the authorities are given increasing resources to train their charges for the demands of modern vocational life, should they not be likewise empowered to deal with abuse and misapplication of society's expensively trained product? A searching evaluation of occupations must surely be undertaken in order that foreknowledge and forewarning shall be in the possession of the parent, teacher,

boy and girl. The job, too, should be made to give an account of itself. The desirable occupations must be studied and better prepared for; the dull and deadly being classified in a rogue's gallery of their own. Then only can reciprocal purpose mark the relation between employer and employee. For the necessary yet uneducative work which young people are obliged to do, compensation is needed in the form of leisure and opportunity for further training in special day classes and schools provided for such workers. Is it too much to hope that the near future will see society join hands with the best employers and the friends of youth to conserve during the decisive vocational years the best of its capabilities for service and growth?

III

BEGINNINGS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

A GROWING interest and an increasing literature indicate a new attitude toward the training of youth. The Convention of the National Education Association held in 1910 might be said to have found its keynote in the aptly phrased title of President Eliot's address, "The Value, during Education, of the Life-Career Motive." The thousands of teachers must have departed with the conviction that the success of the coming education will lie in the strength of the intelligent purpose it develops in the boy and girl to do the work of the world efficiently. The report of the Committee on the Place of Industry in Public Education is a contribution to the subject of vocational preparation. It grasps throughout the fundamental need of training to choose life-work intelligently. "It is to be hoped," says this report, "that the constructive work and the study of industry in the elementary school will ulti-

mately be of such a character that when the pupil reaches the age at which the activities of adult life make their appeal, he will be able to make a wise choice in reference to them and be already advanced in an appreciable measure toward the goal of his special vocation." [1]

The question of training for choice relates quite as much to the selection of the right kind of further schooling as to that of a vocation. It is quite as important to attend the right kind of high school as it is to do the work one is best fitted for. Two illustrations from Boston school experiences show a promising beginning in the new method of helping in the selection of pupils for the various high schools of the city. Both the High School of Commerce and the High School of Practical Arts received applications for entrance from several hundred more grammar-school graduates than could be accommodated. What pupils were to be given the preference; on what basis were they to be picked? The Boston School Committee has authorized the school superintendent to work out with the school prin-

[1] Paper by Prof. E. N. Henderson, page 20.

cipals a plan whereby each school might designate one or more teachers to serve as vocational advisers for the school. Something like a hundred teachers have been so designated, and their services to the high schools in question may be told in the words of the officials themselves. The head-master of the High School of Practical Arts writes: "When it became evident that many more girls than could be taken had sent in applications for admission, I wrote the principals requesting them to turn the list over to the vocational counselors with the suggestion that the pupils be graded according to their standing in cooking, sewing, and drawing. I also asked that those who could afford only one year for further preparation be directed to the trade schools. Girls without special liking for our work were shown the possibilities of the other schools.

"The girls were classed in three groups, first, second, and third, according to standing in the subjects above mentioned, together with the taste and personal adaptability of each. I took all of the first and some of the second, giving personal attention to some special cases. If good judg-

ment has been shown, our classes will be made up of girls who will take an interest in the work of the school and who will profit thereby."

Here is a communication of the former headmaster of the High School of Commerce: "The plan of having the vocational counselors of grammar schools select boys for our high school was as follows: 'The problem with the High School of Commerce has been a pressing one for the past two years. Last year we selected by lot, thinking that such a method was fairest and most democratic. This year, when vocational advisers were appointed in each grammar school, we thought that we could properly call upon them to solve the problem. Superintendent Brooks readily gave his consent. At a meeting held in the spring, some of us addressed all the vocational advisers of the grammar schools, explaining the types of school and the kind of boys suitable. Opportunity was given for question. Many of the advisers then visited the schools. They took the matter in earnest, calling in the parents and forming a very careful judgment in selecting the boys. At our school we feel that

the best method yet has been found, and that the system will improve year by year.'"

An organized plan for advising young people as to the continuance of their schooling and the choosing of their life-work is at least a reasonable attempt to meet the vocational situation we have been considering. An experiment with a group of high-school boys shortly before their graduation three years ago revealed a need for vocational guidance which led to what is probably the first vocation bureau in this country. Sixty or more boys were invited to a reception on the roof-garden of the Civic Service House in the North End of Boston, to talk over their future plans with the late Prof. Frank Parsons and several other workers of that neighborhood house. The conference disclosed that about a dozen of the boys were going to college, a third of the rest hoped to be lawyers, almost another third doctors, three or four had definite plans for business careers, while the rest had no plans and were going to take whatever came along. It is a question if those with no plans in view were not better off than the boys who planned for legal

and medical studies, woefully unprepared, most of them, for the expense, the sacrifice, and the struggles that even moderate success in those callings demanded. Indeed, vocation, literally calling, is not the word to use; with many of the boys the ideal compulsion to follow some one pursuit above all others was not evident. There could be no doubt that the ambition and perseverance of some of these boys would overcome the obstacles in store for them; but unfortunately the story of success is more easily told than that of mediocrity or failure. We have yet to learn how to take stock of waste and misdirection as well as of achievement in human pursuits.

An office was opened to give those who so desired an opportunity to talk over their vocational problems with a sympathetic and skilled economist. Prof. Frank Parsons was put in charge of the Civic Service House Vocation Office, and he was also available for interviews at the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and the Boston Young Men's Christian Association. Scores of men and women of all ages and conditions as

well as hundreds of letters came to him from all parts of the country. A pathetic note of self-doubt and helpless drifting was the burden of an amazing number of these communications. Of course nothing could be done for the letter-writers, because vocational counseling could not honestly be given except through skilled and friendly personal contact.

Prof. Parsons's work is described in the last volume which he wrote, entitled "Choosing a Vocation."[1] The importance of scientific methods in self-analysis and the working out of written personal data to use in the course of a number of interviews with the counselor was emphasized by Professor Parsons in his work for the applicant. The counselor, on the other hand, was to be trained according to a definite plan, and equipped with a knowledge of the vocations, of industrial statistics, and of every kind of available educational opportunity.

Within a year the interest taken by business men, educators, and social workers in the possibilities of a well-organized vocation bureau,

[1] Published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

located centrally in offices of its own, has given that undertaking a better foundation and a wider scope. The new Vocation Bureau's relations with the Boston School Committee and the work of the School Vocation Committee appointed by the school authorities are perhaps the most important features thus far in its work.

Early in the spring of 1909, the School Committee of Boston passed a resolution inviting the Vocation Bureau to submit a plan for vocational guidance to assist public-school graduates. The Bureau presented the following suggestions:—

"*First*, the Bureau will employ a vocational director to give practically his entire time to the organization of vocational counsel to the graduates of the Boston Public Schools during the ensuing year.

"*Second*, the work of this vocational director shall be carried on in coöperation with the Boston School Committee or the Superintendent of Schools as the Committee shall see fit.

"*Third*, it is the plan of the Bureau to have this vocational director organize a conference of

masters and teachers of the Boston high schools through the Committee or the Superintendent, so that members of the graduating classes will be met for vocational advice either by this vocational director or by the coöperating school masters and teachers, all working along a general plan, to be adopted by this conference.

"*Fourth*, the vocational director should, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools or any person whom he may appoint, arrange vocational lectures for the members of the graduating classes.

"*Fifth*, the Bureau believes that school masters and teachers should be definitely trained to give vocational counsel, and therefore, that it is advisable for this vocational director, in coöperation with the Superintendent of Schools, to establish a series of conferences to which certain selected teachers and masters should be invited on condition that that they will agree in turn definitely to do vocational counseling with their own pupils.

"*Sixth*, the vocational director will keep a careful record of the work accomplished for the

pupils during the year, the number of pupils counseled with, the attitude of the pupils with reference to a choice of vocations, the advice given and, as far as possible, the results following. These records should form the basis for a report to the Boston School Committee at the end of the year. The Bureau cherishes the hope that it can so demonstrate the practicability and value of this work that the Boston School Committee will eventually establish in its regular organization a supervisor of vocational advice."

This communication was signed by the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Vocation Bureau. On June 7, 1909, the School Committee at a regular meeting took favorable action on the Vocation Bureau's propositions and instructed the Superintendent to appoint a committee of six to work with the Vocation Bureau director. For almost a year the committee thus appointed, consisting of three masters and three sub-masters, have been holding weekly meetings at the office of the Vocation Bureau. Their report to the Superintendent of Schools is worth quoting in full not only because of the valuable sugges-

tions it contains, but also as a promising indication of the teachers' attitude toward the introduction of vocational guidance in the school system: —

"The Committee on Vocational Direction respectfully presents the following as a report for the school year just closed. The past year has been a year of beginnings, the field of operation being large and the problems complicated. A brief survey of the work shows the following results: —

"A general interest in vocational direction has been aroused among the teachers of Boston, not only in the elementary but in the high schools.

"A vocational counselor, or a committee of such counselors, has been appointed in every high school and in all but one of the elementary schools.

"A vocational card record of every elementary school graduate for this year has been made, to be forwarded to the high school in the fall.

"Stimulating vocational lectures have been given to thirty of the graduating classes of the elementary schools of Boston, including all the schools in the more congested parts of the city.

"Much has been done by way of experiment by the members of this committee in the various departments of getting employment, counseling, and following up pupils after leaving school.

"The interest and loyal coöperation of many of the leading philanthropic societies of Boston have been secured, as well as that of many prominent in the business and professional life of the city and the state.

"A good beginning has already been made in reviewing books suitable for vocational libraries in the schools.

"It was early decided that we should confine our efforts for the first year mainly to pupils of the highest elementary grade as the best point of contact. The problem of vocational aid and counsel in the high schools has not as yet been directly dealt with, yet much that is valuable has been accomplished in all our high schools on the initiative of the head-masters and selected teachers. It is safe to say that the quality and amount of vocational aid and direction has far exceeded any hitherto given in those schools. The committee, through open and private conferences, and correspondence with the head-masters, have kept in close touch with the situation in high schools, but they feel that for the present year it is best for the various types of high schools each to work out its own plan of vocational direction. The facts regarding their experience can properly be made the basis of a later report. A committee of three, appointed by the Head-masters' Association, stands ready to advise with this committee on all matters relating to high school vocational interests. Once during the year the principals of the specialized high schools met in conference the vocational counselors of the city and have presented the aims and curricula of

these schools in such a way as to greatly enlighten those responsible for advising pupils just entering high schools.

"The committee have held regular weekly meetings through the school year since September. At these meetings every phase of vocational aid has been discussed, together with its adaptability to our present educational system. Our aim has been to test the various conclusions before recommending them for adoption. This has taken time. Our most serious problem so far has been to adapt our plans to conditions as we find them, without increasing the teachers' work and without greatly increased expense. We have assumed that the movement was not a temporary 'fad,' but that it had a permanent value, and was therefore worthy the serious attention of educators.

"Three aims have stood out above all others: first, to secure thoughtful consideration, on the part of parents, pupils, and teachers, of the importance of a life-career motive; second, to assist in every way possible in placing pupils in some remunerative work on leaving school; and third, to keep in touch with and help them thereafter, suggesting means of improvement and watching the advancement of those who need such aid. The first aim has been in some measure achieved throughout the city. The other two have thus far been worked out only by the individual members of the committee. As a result we are very firmly of the opinion that until some central bureau of information for pupils regarding trade and mercantile opportunities is established, and some effective system of

sympathetically following up pupils, for a longer or a shorter period after leaving school, is organized in our schools as centres, the effort to advise and direct merely will largely fail. Both will require added executive labor which will fall upon the teachers at first. We believe they will accept the responsibility. If, as Dr. Eliot says, teachers find those schools more interesting where the life-career motive is present, then the sooner that motive is discovered in the majority of pupils the more easily will the daily work be done and the product correspondingly improved.

"In order to enlist the interest and coöperation of the teachers of Boston, three mass meetings, one in October and two in the early spring, were held. A fourth meeting with the head-masters of high schools was also held with the same object. As a most gratifying result the general attitude is most sympathetic and the enthusiasm marked. The vocation counselors in high and elementary schools form a working organization of over one hundred teachers, representing all the schools. A responsible official, or committee, in each school stands ready to advise pupils and parents at times when they most need advice and are asking for it. They suggest whatever helps may be available in further educational preparation. They are ready to fit themselves professionally to do this work more intelligently and discriminatingly, not only by meeting together for mutual counsel and exchange of experiences, but by study and expert preparation if need be.

"As a beginning of our work with pupils we have followed out two lines: the lecture and the card record. The addresses have been mainly stimulating and inspirational. It seems to the committee, however, that specific information coming from those intimately connected with certain lines of labor should have a place also in this lecture phase of our work. In a large number of high and elementary schools addresses of this character have been given by experts during the year. The committee claim no credit for these, though carried out under the inspiration of the movement the committee represent. The custom of having such addresses given before Junior Alumni Associations, Parents' Associations, and evening school gatherings has become widespread, the various masters taking the initiative in such cases. The speakers are able to quote facts with an authority that is convincing to the pupil and leads him to take a more serious view of his future plans, especially if the address is followed up by similar talks from the class teacher, emphasizing the points of the speaker. This is a valuable feature and should be extended to include more of the elementary grades, especially in the more densely settled portions of the city, from which most of our unskilled workers come.

"A vocational record card calling for elementary school data on one side and for high school data on the other, has been furnished all the elementary schools for registration of this year's graduates. The same card will be furnished to high schools this fall. These cards are to be

sent forward by the elementary school counselors to high schools in September, to be revised twice during the high school course. The value of the card record is not so much in the registering of certain data as in the results of the process of getting these. The effect upon the mental attitude of pupil, teacher, and parent is excellent, and makes an admirable beginning in the plan of vocational direction.

"The committee are now in a position where they must meet a demand of both pupils and teachers for vocational enlightenment. Pupils should have detailed information in the form of inexpensive handbooks regarding the various callings and how to get into them, wages, permanence of employment, chance of promotion, etc. Teachers must have a broader outlook upon industrial opportunities for boys and girls. Even those teachers who know their pupils well generally have little acquaintance with industrial conditions. The majority can advise fairly well how to prepare for a profession, while few can tell a boy how to get into a trade, or what the opportunities therein are. In this respect our teachers will need to be more broadly informed regarding social, industrial, and economic problems. We have to face a more serious problem in a crowded American city than in a country where children are supposed to follow the father's trade.

"In meeting the two most pressing needs, viz., the vocational enlightenment of teachers, parents, and pupils, and the training of vocational counselors, we shall con-

tinue to look for aid to the Vocation Bureau. The Bureau has been of much assistance during the past year, in fact indispensable, in matters of correspondence, securing information, getting out printed matter, and in giving the committee counsel based upon a superior knowledge of men and conditions in the business world.

"The question of vocational direction is merely one phase of the greater question of vocational education. As a contributory influence we believe serious aggressive work in this line will lead to several definite results, aside from the direct benefit to the pupils. It will create a demand for better literature on the subject of vocations. It will help increase the demand for more and better trade schools. It will cause teachers to seek to broaden their knowledge of opportunities for mechanical and mercantile training. Lastly, it will tend to a more intelligent and generous treatment of employees by business houses, the personal welfare and prospects of the employee being taken into account as well as the interests of the house itself."

The vocational record card referred to in the report for use throughout the school years of the boys and girls is here reproduced.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL VOCATIONAL RECORD CARD

Name School and Class

Date Birth

Parent's Name

Residence

Parent's plans for pupil

Pupil excels in or likes what subjects?

Pupil fails in or dislikes what subjects?

Physique Pupil's plan — (a trade, a profession, business)

Attend school, or work next year?

What school?

Intend to graduate from that school?

After High School, what?

(College — Tech. — Normal — Evg. High — Trade Sch. or Spec. Sch.)

HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL RECORD CARD

FIRST YEAR (OCT. 1)

Name From School

Entered

Object in attending High School?

Does intend to graduate? What School after High? { Normal / Technical / College

Preparing for business — trade — or profession?

Greatest aptitude

THIRD YEAR (OCT. 1)

Have you changed plans since first year?

If so, what are they?

Apart from its relations with the Public Schools, the Vocation Bureau holds consultations

in its office with many people of all ages who come with personal problems. It actively coöperates with the few but very important organizations that are undertaking special vocational guidance. Of interest are the plans of the Girls' Trade Education League and the Boston Home and School Association, both of which societies are represented in the management of the Vocation Bureau. These plans are in process of development and have been only partially carried out; but they represent so thorough an understanding of the problem, so practical and detailed a method of approach, that they are of interest to those who are helping to bring about a movement for vocational guidance.

PLANS OF THE GIRLS' TRADE EDUCATION LEAGUE OF BOSTON

The Girls' Trade Education League proposes to make a thorough study of the variety of difficulties and opportunities which confront young girls leaving school between the ages of 14 and 18 to become wage-earners. Its purpose will be to try to lessen the misfits, discouragements, and

failures which are constantly arising, and which seem to be due in large measure to the hit-or-miss fashion in which girls enter an employment, with no knowledge of its requirements and no serious thought of where it will lead them. As these girls form a large percentage of the home-makers of the future it is important to direct them into occupations which do not retard their development, but which tend to increase their general efficiency.

By confining its field to the subject of Vocations for Girls, the League will supplement the work of the Vocation Bureau.

The League has outlined its work as follows:

I. To study all sorts of occupations in which young girls are employed, for the purpose of securing information as to conditions under which the work is performed, ability required, wages paid, steadiness of employment, opportunities for advancement, and such other points as would be useful in giving advice.

II. Having collected, or rather continuously collecting such information, the League will endeavor to place this at the disposal of the public schools, either through lectures, classes, printed leaflets,

or in whatever way it may be found most useful to them.

III. To conduct a Vocation Office for the purpose of directing girls into employment after they leave school. In this work the endeavor will be made not so much to find work for a girl, as to direct her into *that particular* work for which she seems best suited.

In general, then, the League hopes to be of service in two ways, — first, by furnishing the public schools with information about occupations for girls, which will aid them in counseling girls who are planning to leave school and go to work; and second, by continuing the work begun in the schools with a "follow-up system" of the girls as they drop out, directing them in accord with their individual needs.

PLAN OF THE BOSTON HOME AND SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

For the coming year the plan is to secure information as to the educational and vocational ambitions of parents for their children, and to discover how far those ambitions are based on knowledge and possible opportunities to realize

them. The following questionaire will be sent out to the parents of children in various schools:

QUESTIONAIRE FOR PARENTS OF HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS

1. Are you going to send your boy (or girl) to college?
2. If so, what college, and why?
3. Have you in view any occupation for which you wish to train your boy (or girl)?
4. What occupation do you think your boy (or girl) is most adapted to? Has your boy (or girl) received any training in preparation for this occupation?

QUESTIONAIRE FOR PARENTS OF CHILDREN IN THE EIGHTH GRADE

1. Are you intending to send your boy (or girl) to high school?
2. If so, what high school, and why?
3. Have you in view any occupation for which you wish to train your boy (or girl)?
4. What occupation do you think your boy (or girl) is most adapted to? Has your boy (or girl) received any training in preparation for this occupation?

With the above information in hand, the Association will determine the kind of lectures and conferences to organize for the various parents' associations.

The Vocation Bureau is investigating vocations for Boston boys, and expects to furnish, in a convenient form, information to teachers about the demands and conditions of occupations open to boys of the city. The information secured is transcribed on white cards when it presents normal conditions, on yellow cards when the occupation is undesirable for any reason, and on red cards when objectionable or dangerous. The following specimens of the data secured are presented with the identifying facts omitted:—

THE VOCATION BUREAU, BOSTON

VOCATIONS FOR BOSTON BOYS

Nature of Occupation. *Shoe Manufacture.*

Date of Inquiry. *July 1, 1910.*

Name of Firm ——— ———

Address ——— ———

Superintendent or Employment Manager ——— ———

Total number of employees { Male, *2730.* Female, *2280.*

Number of boys, *1200*; girls, *1000.*

Has there been a shifting in relative numbers of each? *No. There is fixed work for each.*

'PAY

Wages of various groups, and ages. *Errand boys, counters, carriers, 14 years old, $3.50; assemblers, assistants, pattern boys, 16 years,*

$3.50 to $6.00; lasters, 20 years, $6.00 to $7.00; other work, 20 years or more, $8.00 to $12.00 for young men in early employment.

Wages at beginning. *$3.50 to $6.00.*

Seasonal. *By year.*

Hours per day. *7.30 A. M. to 5.30 P. M. To 12 M. on Saturday in summer. One hour nooning.*

Rate of increase. *This is very irregular, averaging $1.00 per week each year.*

a. On what dependent. *Not at all on age, but on ability and position filled, or on increase in skill in a certain process.*

b. Time or piece payment — any premiums or bonus? *66% piece payment. Premium on certain lines for quality and quantity of work, neatness of departments, etc.*

BOYS

How are boys secured? *By application to firm, by advertising, and by employees. It is impossible to find enough.*

Their ages. *Fourteen years and up.*

Previous jobs. *Nearly all boys come into this industry from school. A few come from other shoe factories, or from retail shoe stores.*

Previous schooling. *Grammar school, or a certificate of literacy or attendance at night school must be presented.*

Are any continuing this training? *Yes.* Where? *In public evening schools, Y. M. C. A. classes, and Continuation School in Boston.*

THE INDUSTRY

a. Physical conditions. *Most sanitary, with modern improvements and safeguards, with hospital department and trained nurses.*

b. What variety of skill required? *Some mechanical skill. The ordinary boy of good sense can easily learn all processes.*

c. Description of processes (photos if possible). *Errand boys, counters, carriers, assemblers, assistants, pattern boys, lasters, trimmers, and work dieing, welting, and ironing shoes. Also in office, salesman, foreman, manager, or superintendent.*

d. What special dangers.

Machinery. *The chief danger arises from carelessness.*

Dust. *Modern dust removers are used.*

Moisture. *Not to excess.*

Hard labor. *Steady labor rather than hard.*

Strain. *Not excessive.*

Monotony. *Considerable on automatic machines.*

Competitive conditions of industry. *New England is a great centre of the shoe industry. There is extreme competition, but with a world market.*

Future of industry. *The future of a staple product in universal demand.*

What chance for grammar school boy? *He would begin at the bottom, as errand boy.*

High school graduate? *In office, or in wholesale department, to become salesman, or manager.*

Vocational school graduate? *Trade school, giving factory equipment, would be best.*

What opportunity for the worker to show what he can do in other departments? *The superintendent and foreman study the boy and place him where it seems best for him and for the firm.*

TESTS

What kind of boy is desired? *Honest, bright, healthy, strong. Boys living at home are preferred.*

What questions asked of applicant? *As to home, education, experience, and why leaving any former position.*

What tests applied? *For office work, writing and figuring.*

What records kept? (Collect all printed questionaires and records.) *Name, address, age, nationality, married or single, living at home or boarding, pay, date of entering and of leaving.*

Union or non-union? *Open shop.*

Comment of Employer. *Education is better for the boy and for us.*

Will he take boys sent by Vocation Bureau? *Yes.*

Will he attend V. B. conferences if asked? *Gladly.*

Comment of Foreman. *Employment bureaus have failed us. We look everywhere for boys, but find few such as we want. The*

average boy can apply himself here so as to be well placed in life.

Comment of Boys. *We have a bowling alley, reading room, and library, park, and much to make service here pleasant. It is something like school still. We mean to stay. Piece work will give us good pay by the time we are twenty years old.*

Health Board comments. *Inhaling naphtha from cements and dust from leatherworking machines, and overcrowding and overheating workrooms, are to be guarded against in this occupation. The danger of each injurious process may be prevented by proper care.*

CENSUS BUREAU REPORT ON THIS OCCUPATION, MASSACHUSETTS, 1908.

Number of Establishments.	Capital Invested.	Value of Stock.	Wages Paid.	Average Earnings.	Males Employed.	Females.	Value of Product.
413	$35,260,028	$104,171,604	$38,959,428	$562.59	46,063	23,187	$169,957,116

Bibliography. *The Shoe Manufacturing Industry in New England.* I. K. Bailey (*New England States*, v. 1, 1897), and Massachusetts *Labor Bulletin*, No. 14, May, 1910.

School fitting for this occupation. *The Boston Continuation School.*

——— ——— Investigator

This information gathered from these cards has been transcribed into narrative form for the use of teachers, and some specimen bulletins are here given.

BANKING

In the lowest position in banking, that of errand boy, boys receive $4.00 and $5.00 a week. For regular messenger service the pay begins at $6.00 a week or $300 a year, increasing, on an average, at the rate of $100 a year. Young men as check-tellers, clerks, bookkeepers, and bond salesmen receive from $800 to $1000 a year. The average bank employee in Boston receives $1100 a year. Tellers, who must be responsible and able men of thirty years or over, have salaries ranging from $2200 to $3300.

Pay, Positions and Opportunities

Savings banks pay somewhat higher salaries and offer a better future to one who must remain in the ranks of the business.

Bank officers receive higher salaries now than bank presidents did twenty years ago. Officers and heads of departments in a banking-house are not always taken from the employees; they are often selected by a firm from its acquaintance in the banking world.

Rarely are boys employed in the banking in-

dustry under sixteen years, which is the more general age for entering. Some firms will not employ them under nineteen years of age on account of the great responsibility of the messenger service. Boys must be gentlemanly, neat-appearing, intelligent, honest, business-like, and able to concentrate their minds upon their daily work.

The Boy Qualities and Training Required

The ordinary high-school education is the general requirement for banking. Some boys enter the business without completing the high school courses, but are consequently often unable to make proper advancement. Courses in business schools are desirable, and one should have fair training in mathematics and bookkeeping and be a good penman. In one banking-house investigated, having 195 employees, there were but three college graduates, one being the cashier. Banking men wish that this condition were different, but believe that it is best for those who enter the occupation to do so early in life. A second reason for this is that the average pay of the bank employee does not appeal to the college man.

The Business Conditions and Future

The physical conditions of the occupation are of the highest grade. There is moral danger to young men on the speculative side of the stock and bond business, and no broker is allowed to receive orders from a clerk of another firm.

There is keen competition among national banks and trust companies in bidding for deposits, and in the stock and bond business for speculation and investment. There is little competition among savings banks and coöperative banks. These have their lists of depositors, and interest rates are controlled by business conditions.

The business of the future in all lines will be excellent because of the vital connection of the banking business with the money system of the country, and with all lines of activity in the financial and industrial world.

Comments by People in the Business

"Messenger service is the first stepping-stone in banking. A boy should realize that here lies his opportunity. The careless messenger will be a careless bookkeeper or clerk and an unsuccessful bank man."

"The chances of a boy are better in some respects in the small bank than in the large one. In the small bank one learns all parts of the business and has a much better future. The successful men in such firms are often chosen as officers in the large firms."

"Bank combinations in Boston in recent years have given prominence to men who had achieved success in their smaller field, or in their particular form of banking experience."

"Service in a bank is educational, even if one does not remain, in methods and mental training. But the person who goes out in middle life finds it difficult to get a position in the business world."

"A boy should get into the credit department of a banking house, where he may come in contact with the cashier or president."

"Savings banks do not generally take boys direct from school. Age, maturity, and some kind of business experience are desired."

"Investment in stocks and bonds is a great business and calls for high intelligence."

"Character comes first, for banking is a business of continual trusting in men. Banks are

willing to pay for honesty, energy, brains, and good judgment."

"Banking calls for ability to judge human nature and to carry many details in mind, for accurate and rapid thought, and for clear and firm decision."

"Every consolidation brings a search for the best men, and every bank is looking for the right kind of young man."

"There is a good future in the banking business in all its departments, owing to the great development of this country in industrial and commercial lines."

CONFECTIONERY MANUFACTURE

The Industry Conditions and Future

This study of the industry deals with the manufacture of confectionery under modern conditions in large establishments which employ from one hundred to one thousand people. The facts and conditions presented are in the main such as prevail in the general industry in New England.

The health conditions of candy-making are favorable in the large establishments. In the

smaller and older ones unfavorable conditions prevail. Some rooms in which candies are cooled are kept regularly below normal temperature, while others, in which mixing takes place, are above normal temperature. There is some danger from machinery, and discomfort, if not danger, from steam and heat.

In this industry, in various factories, there are employed from three to six times as many girls as boys. The girls perform hand processes in the making of candies, and do the work of boxing and labeling. The proportion of boys being relatively so small, there is greater opportunity for them to rise to the responsible positions.

Pay, Positions, and Opportunities

The big factories employ many boys, because there is so much work that they can do, and because men generally are unwilling to work at the wages paid in this occupation. In the factories investigated, one half of the male employees were found to be under twenty-one years of age.

Pay at the beginning varies from $3.00 to $6.00, according to the age of the boy and the particular work done. Boys act as helpers and

assistants, shippers, mixers, and boilers; the more difficult processes are performed by men. Pay in the positions enumerated varies from $3.00, the lowest sum paid at the beginning, to $12.00. The average increase per week each year is $1.25. Young men of eighteen or twenty years who remain permanently in the occupation earn from $12.00 to $15.00 a week. As foreman of a room, a man earns $18.00 or $20.00 a week.

In the mixing processes and the general industry very many Italians are employed, because of their quickness and the adaptability of the race to this kind of work.

In some establishments a few boys are regularly trained as apprentices to learn the entire business; such become foremen, superintendents, traveling salesmen, and managers.

The Boy Qualities and Training Required

Boys begin at the age of fourteen in this industry. They must be clean, bright, quick, and strong. Most boys entering live at home, as is the case in industries paying low wages at the beginning. While no special education is necessary, one must have the usual attendance

at the grammar school, or present a certificate of literacy. With some firms a knowledge of chemistry is an advantage in the manufacturing department.

It is an industry in which the educational requirement is small, and the most important qualities desired are neatness and quickness.

Comments of People in the Industry

"There is a fair chance for the advancement of a boy or young man; vacancies are regularly filled by selecting from employees who have shown their industry and ability."

"From the nature of the business and the number of factories in and about Boston, the chance for steady employment of a fair per cent of young men who have learned the work is very good. One should become acquainted with all departments, serving some time in each if he wishes to become master of the occupation and earn good pay. He should work also in several factories."

"It is a good occupation for one who masters it thoroughly. People outside have no conception of the magnitude of the candy business."

"Boys with push and health may become able to earn a good living; those with fair education may reach the higher positions. A boy must have the quality of perseverance and interest himself thoroughly in his work. There is more demand than ever for mental ability, for mind put into one's work."

"A former luxury is becoming a necessity and the candy-making business offers a fairly good future for a boy or young man."

THE LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

Landscape architecture deals with plans and designs for the laying out of public and private parks and grounds and city planning. It is allied to architecture, horticulture, and civil engineering.

The Profession: Conditions and Future

The health conditions of this occupation are excellent. To his indoor work the landscape architect adds the variety and exhilaration of working out-of-doors. He has steadily before him an ideal of form and beauty in his own undertakings as well as continual contact with them in the work of other men.

Indoor work, which is mainly planning, writing, and drafting, runs quite steadily through the year; outdoor work is done mainly in the summer. Young men must expect little if any field-work at the start.

To some the only drawback in the profession is that of travel, a great deal of which is necessary for practicing landscape architects. On the other hand, steady confinement indoors is surely a disadvantage.

In this industry there is not such keen competition as is found in commercial lines. Contracts calling for the better grades of work are not awarded as the results of solicitation; business comes to a firm mainly because of its reputation. Both landscape architecture and civil engineering, allied industries, are steadily increasing their fields of activity. The profession of landscape architecture has grown greatly in recent years, yet there are few large firms. It is one of the most modern and promising of occupations.

While there are neither many nor large firms in the country, in the vaults of one firm investi-

gated lie copies of 20,000 drawings for work actually done.

Success in landscape architecture depends on the individual or firm that can do good work and make it known to the public.

The landscape architect bears the same relation to the landscape contractor as the architect bears to the building contractor. The landscape contractor executes the plans and designs prepared by the landscape architect, under the supervision of his representative on the grounds, usually a civil engineer or planting superintendent.

Older terms for the profession are "landscape engineer" and "landscape gardener." Landscape gardening now has to do especially with the planting side of the profession, and boys prepare for it by employment with a landscape architect and by field work.

Wages for boys entering this vocation range from $4.00 to $6.00 and $7.00. Such wages usually cover the period of learning the occupation. A young man who has taken a school course in the profession may enter at $10.00 or more. While

Pay, Positions, and Opportunities

learning, a draftsman receives about the same pay as in architectural offices, from $9.00 to $12.00 a week, and a planting department clerk $12.00 per week; an assistant in the field from $8.00 to $10.00, and a superintendent of outdoor work $15.00.

Beyond those positions when young men have served a period of learning of four or five years, pay increases steadily, quite equaling that received in building architecture, and averaging from $1000 to $1800 per year. As in all lines of business, advancement and success depend upon personal ability, thoroughness of training, and business conditions.

Pay in the profession, while generally stated by employer and employee in the figures given above, is usually computed by the hour, especially for indoor work.

The Boy: Qualities and Training Required

The usual age for entering is sixteen years; a boy younger than this would have no opportunity except as office boy. One must expect to give the years between sixteen and twenty to learning the profession, earning

only enough for living expenses. Most boys found in such an occupation live at home.

One should have ability in drawing, taste in design, an accurate mind, good sense, and good eyesight. A boy should be strong, of good habits, and of normal physique.

A high-school education is the least requirement. Most boys entering landscape architecture in Boston and vicinity come from the Mechanic Arts High School, the Institute of Technology, Harvard University, Bussey Institute, and the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. One must be well trained in mathematics, surveying, and drafting. A knowledge of plants is an advantage in all cases, and with some firms an essential.

Many students use their school or college vacation for studying the profession with a landscape architect, thus getting practical field-work to supplement their school courses.

"It is a profession demanding hard work with long hours and much painstaking service for moderate financial returns. Most who go into it do so for love of the occupation."

Comments of People in the Industry

"The work is in part of an advisory nature, necessitating investigation, which is the opportunity of young men They draw up plans and direct the execution of them by contractors."

"Teach a boy drawing, no matter what he can do or what occupation he may enter. It trains the mind and hand and is of help always."

"Conditions have changed greatly in recent years. The Metropolitan Commissions pay a higher price for a shorter season and sometimes draw young men away from architects' offices."

"Better be a first-rate grocer than a second-rate landscape architect. One must think carefully before entering this profession, so that he may not put in three or four years and find himself not fitted for it."

"This occupation opens the door to a congenial work and gives one broad views and interests in life."

One of the methods adopted by the Boston Vocation Bureau to further interest in the work has been a series of informal dinner conferences attended by leading business men and educators.

The heads of some of the largest industrial enterprises in the state contributed experiences of great value and by their interest showed that vocational guidance is something which concerns not only the boy and the girl, the family and the school, but commerce and industry quite as much.

Courses of lectures have been given in the public school system of Providence, R. I., at Harvard University, Boston University, Tufts College, and elsewhere dealing with the occupations and their requirements. The following partial announcement of a course given at the Civic Service House will show the nature of the talks.

WHAT ARE YOU FITTING YOURSELF FOR?

Vocation Talks by Experts

Sunday evening free and frank discussions for the benefit of all who are wrestling with the problems of choosing a vocation.

THE TEACHER.
THE ARCHITECT.
THE JOURNALIST.
THE LAWYER.
COMMERCIAL CAREERS.
PHILANTHROPIC WORK.
INDUSTRIAL FOREMEN.
A CAREER IN BUSINESS.
A CAREER IN AGRICULTURE.
THE NEW PROFESSION IN FORESTRY.
THE DOCTOR.
SPECIAL FIELDS FOR WOMEN.
CAREERS IN ART, MUSIC, AND DRAMA.
SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS.
POLITICS AND PUBLIC SERVICE.

In the audiences which attended this course there were parents and teachers who found this an opportunity to study the nature of various occupations, young people who came to hear about the particular vocation they had in view for themselves; and a number of young and old who were laboring with the problem of choice.

In Germany for many years, and in Scotland, the law has recognized the need of intelligent direction of the young. The German system of industrial training presupposes a profound interest in the wage-earning career of youth, and though in some respects the social organization of that country makes its regulative provisions impossible in ours, there is much to be learned from its intelligent and thorough-going methods of dealing with its young people.

In his Dundee address on "Unemployment" two years ago, and in the House of Commons address on Labor Exchanges, in 1909, the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill emphasized the need of guidance for the vast majority of England's youth cast adrift in the odd occupations open to boys of fourteen years. The consequences of

present-day conditions may be measured by the grim fact, that out of the unemployed applying for help under the Unemployed Workman Act, no less than twenty-eight per cent are between twenty and thirty years of age. "No boy or girl ought to be treated merely as cheap labor," says Mr. Churchill. "Up to eighteen years of age, every boy and girl in this country should, as in the old days of apprenticeship, be learning a trade as well as earning a living." The Labor Exchange, Mr. Churchill conceives as an agency for guiding the new generation into suitable, promising, and permanent employment, and for diverting them from over-stocked or declining industries. These exchanges are to coöperate with the vocation bureaus of the various education authorities that are coming into existence in Scotland and in England.

A clause in the Scotch Education Act of 1908 permits school authorities to maintain or to combine "with other bodies to maintain any agency for collecting and distributing information as to employments open to children on leaving school."

Munich has a special department in its Labor

Exchange set aside for children, and those other than apprentices are dealt with in the unskilled section. Mr. Frederick Keeling in his pamphlet on the Labor Exchange[1] describes the method by which the coöperation of the school and the Exchange is secured. The head-master assembles all the children who are about to leave school and impresses on them the importance of making a careful choice of an occupation. They are then given forms to fill out with the consent of their parents and with the advice of their teacher. After these are returned they are given forms on which they can apply for positions and which they have to take to the Exchange in order to see if a post is vacant. Visits are often obviated by messages from the Exchange to the school. The preliminary steps are taken soon enough to enable the children in most cases to have a situation ready for them the moment they leave school. It should be noted that the Munich continuation schools serve as effective placement agencies for their own girls and boys.

[1] *The Labor Exchange in Relation to Boy and Girl Labor*, Frederick Keeling, P. S. King & Son, Westminster, London, 1910.

While the securing of suitable employment is the chief object of the Labor Exchange, and although educational readjustment is not in its programme, the Exchange has, nevertheless, contributed important evidence as to the need of vocational training and guidance before the period of employment is at hand.

The English Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees have done valuable work, though necessarily on a small scale, in the field of employment. Their indirect influence, however, on the movement for vocational training and the success of their supervision over the progress of the children placed has been considerable. Excellent handbooks have been published under the auspices of these committees, the most useful of which have been the pamphlets: "Trades for London Boys and How to Enter Them," and "Trades for London Girls and How to Enter Them."[1] These pamphlets cover such topics as the method of organizing vocational aid associations, the considerations of health and prospects

[1] Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London.

in the trades, the various openings for boys and girls, and the opportunities for further training. The London County Council and Glasgow School Board have made use of thousands of copies of these handbooks.

A score or more of affiliated committees in the city of London and in the provinces are in active relations with the central association for Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment, each committee working locally for the vocational welfare of the boys and girls in its vicinity. Reports of such committees as the Hampstead Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committee show in detail the neighborhood treatment of the vocational needs of young people. Through the joint action of these committees relations have been established with trade-union secretaries and with the officials responsible for the establishment of a national system of labor exchanges. A conference has been held with the Prime Minister and other cabinet ministers in which the experience of those interested in the problem of boy labor was presented with suggestions for improvement through the adoption of a system of compulsory

attendance at continuation schools up to 17 years of age, a reduction of working hours, a development of full-time day schools, the raising of the school age, and the modification of the present elementary school curriculum. The Board of Education and the London County Council have shown noteworthy interest in the work of these voluntary organizations. The Children's Care Committees of the Council are instructed to advise parents as to the work to be taken up by their children on leaving school.

The extension of such vocational information committees must do much to arouse the interest of parents and children in the future of the boys and girls after they leave school. The follow-up work and the friendly contact with the young workers cannot fail to serve as a check to drifting and waste. Probably the most valuable results of the apprenticeship committees' work in London has been its furnishing continual evidence of the necessity for the readjustment of the working day of young people so as to enable them to attend continuation classes during certain hours of the afternoon and the early evening.

IV

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Of all community workers the school-teacher is the most frequently called on to counsel with parents and with children as to the aptitudes of the boy and girl and their probable future. Expert knowledge of a difficult nature is expected of the overworked teacher, but there is little opportunity to acquire it. In the boys' club, the social settlement, or Young Men's Christian Association, the man or woman competent to give vocational counsel is eagerly sought for, and this service is energetically secured, oftentimes at large expense. In the school system, on the other hand, we permit the child's inevitable adviser to remain unequipped for the best performance of this vital duty.

A change, however, is taking place. In the school systems of several cities, organization is replacing our present haphazard efforts at guidance.

GUIDANCE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A conspicuous chart at the Board of Education display in the New York Budget Exhibit of 1910 presents the need for vocational guidance as follows: —

> NEED FOR A VOCATION BUREAU
>
> Directing young boys and girls into careers most useful to themselves and to the community is second in importance only to school training.
>
> Such direction requires *continuous* study of the *needs* of the *community* and an *intimate knowledge* of the *capacity* of the *pupils*.
>
> To secure this direction there must be a bureau to coöperate with the teachers in the public schools.

For several years the initiative of certain New York school-teachers and officials has pointed the way to such guidance. Miss Julia Richman, district superintendent of schools, on the lower East Side of New York, has been employing a young woman who devotes all her time to finding positions suitable for untrained boys and girls who must leave school at fourteen. Application is made by the children direct to this vocational adviser, who interviews each applicant, ascertains

his or her powers, limitations, and desires, and guides ambition into definite channels. She visits employers, looks after the physical conditions under which the children would be employed, and forms an estimate of the personal influence of the foreman or employer with whom the child may come in contact.

Where she is in doubt about a place she does not recommend it. The children come back to her at stated evening office hours for conferences about the work they are doing and the progress they are making.

At the Wadleigh High School for Girls, in New York, a group of public-spirited men and women engaged a teacher two years ago to advise with the girls as to their individual vocational problems, the occupations open to them, and the further opportunities for vocational training. A valuable work for some years past has been that of the Students' Aid Committee of the High School Teachers' Association, the chairman of which is Mr. E. W. Weaver, of the Boys' High School in Brooklyn. In this work, the high-school students are encouraged before

leaving school to define their purposes in life and to consider the occupations best suited to realize them. To this end vocational bulletins have been prepared for the senior classes and their parents. The Association, by printing useful pamphlets on the occupations, the wages in various employments, and on special training required for them, has given an impetus to vocational help in the school system. Under Mr. Weaver's editorship a dozen or more leaflets have been published, with such titles as "Opportunities for Boys in Machine Shops," "Choosing a Career," "Directing Young People in the Choice of a Vocation," and "The Vocational Adjustment of the Children of the Public Schools." Of special interest has been the guidance work for immigrant youth at the Educational Alliance, by Dr. Paul Abelson, of the DeWitt Clinton High School of New York, whose knowledge of agricultural as well as of urban occupations has been of peculiar service to the perplexed youth of a tenement locality.

In the preceding chapter the vocational guidance movement in the Boston schools has been

described. At the first national conference on vocational guidance, held in Boston in November, 1910, invitations to which were issued by the Boston Chamber of Commerce and the Vocation Bureau of Boston, organized vocational help in the school system received a support which promises much for the future of this work. In half a dozen Massachusetts cities and towns, vocation bureau committees, representing school and business organizations, have been formed, and in some the work of advising young people has been started.

One of the most thorough systems of school guidance is to be found in the Educational Information and Employment Bureaus of the Edinburgh (Scotland) School Board. Specimens of its plans and bulletins are here given, as they illustrate how a school vocation bureau works.

Acting under the provision of the new Scotch Education Act, which grants school boards the power to incur expenditure for guidance bureaus, the Edinburgh School Board in 1908 called a conference at which were represented the Chamber of Commerce, various labor and employers'

organizations, churches and educational institutions. Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, of Aberdeen, an efficient pioneer in this movement, took a leading part, and contributed largely to the plan of work, which was finally adopted as follows:—

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD

Educational Information and Employment Bureau

Scheme for the Establishment of an Educational Information and Employment Bureau, adopted by the Board, 20th July, 1908.

1. The Bureau shall be placed under the charge of a Standing Committee of the Board to be called the Educational Information and Employment Bureau Committee, and to consist of seven members of the School Board.

2. There shall be associated with the Committee, an Advisory Council, consisting of the Members of the School Board and such representatives of public bodies and trade associations as the Board may from time to time coöpt, due regard being had to securing representation of the principal trades of women's occupations.

3. The Advisory Council as representing the various trades and occupations related to the Bureau shall advise the Committee and the Director of the Bureau on all matters connected with the education

required for such trades and occupations, and on the conditions of employment.

4. Accommodation for the Bureau shall be found in the School Board Offices.

5. The School Board shall appoint a Director who, subject to the Committee, shall organize and superintend the Bureau. Generally his duties shall be as follows: —

(*a*) To interview boys and girls and their parents or guardians, and advise them with regard to further educational courses and most suitable occupations.

(*b*) To prepare leaflets and pamphlets or tabulated matter giving information to the scholars about continuation work.

(*c*) To keep in touch with the general requirements of employers and revise from time to time the statistics about employment.

(*d*) To prepare and revise periodically statements of the trades and industries of the district, with rates of wages and conditions of employment.

(*e*) To keep a record of vacancies intimated by employers, and to arrange for suitable candidates having an opportunity of applying for such vacancies.

(*f*) To report periodically on the work of the Bureau.

If an organizer for the Continuation Classes be appointed, he might also act as Director of the Bureau.

Note. — As soon as the Committee and the Director have been appointed, notice should be sent to all head-masters, employers, etc., explaining the purposes of the Bureau and the conditions for utilizing its services. Head-masters should be provided with printed forms to be given to the outgoing scholars on which shall be entered the standard of education attained, habits of punctuality and attendance, and any general information that would be useful, and a duplicate shall be sent to the Bureau. The Bureau shall be open free of charge to parents and pupils wishing information as to education or employment.

A large advisory council has been appointed to coöperate with the bureau, two delegates being sent by such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce, the Building Trades Association, the Master Printers, the National Union of Women Workers, and unions of Engineers, Bakers, Book-Binders, Cabinet-Makers, Joiners and Masons. A number of prominent employers and educators are also on the council. In the Bureau's plan for organizing vocational information it ascertains facts about the industries, trades, and professions of the district, the nature of the local demands for young workers, the qualifications required in

the various occupations, the conditions of apprenticeship for each trade, the beginner's weekly wage, and the possibilities of promotion. Particular effort is made to retain the pupils in the schools, to trace the progress of boys and girls from fourteen to seventeen who cannot continue their schooling, and to secure the employer's coöperation in establishing needed continuation schools. The following circular is sent to parents of children leaving school, and is similar to those sent to the head-masters and to employers.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL BOARD

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

The Members of the Board desire to call your special attention to the steps which they are taking to guide and advise young people regarding their future careers in life, and to provide for them the systematic training on commercial or industrial lines that will best fit them for the occupation they elect to follow.

(1) *Educational Information and Employment Bureau*

The Education Department has recently pointed out that it has been matter of frequent complaint

that through want of information or proper guidance, children, on leaving school, are apt to take up casual employments, which, though remunerative for the moment, afford no real preparation for earning a living in later life. The temptation to put a child into the first opening that presents itself is often very great. Due regard is not always paid to the capacities of the boys and girls concerned, with the result that many take up work which affords no training and is without prospect, while many others are forced into trades or professions for which they are unsuited by temperament and education, and for which they consequently acquire a dislike. The result is a large amount of waste to the community at large and misery to the individuals concerned.

The Board are anxious to coöperate with parents in putting an end to this state of matters, and accordingly, they have established an Educational Information and Employment Bureau whose functions may be briefly stated as follows: —

(1) To supply information with regard to the qualifications most required in the various occupations of the City, the rates of wages, and the conditions of employment.

(2) To give information about the technical and commercial continuation classes having relation to particular trades and industries.

(3) To advise parents regarding the occupations

for which their sons and daughters are most fitted when they leave school.

(4) To keep a record of vacancies intimated by employers, and to arrange for suitable candidates having an opportunity of applying for such vacancies.

(2) *Continuation Classes*

Boys and girls who have gone through the work of the Day School soon forget much that they have learned if they have no opportunity of extending the knowledge which they have already gained. The Board would therefore impress on parents the importance of their children joining a Continuation School as soon as possible after leaving the Day School.

As you are probably aware, children can now leave school only at certain fixed dates. In Edinburgh these are 1st March and 1st September. On 15th July of this year over 2000 pupils may terminate their day school career.

The close of the Day School course is probably the most critical period in the life of children. There is grave danger of educational and moral waste if they are suddenly set entirely free from discipline and instruction. Between the ages of 14 and 18 careful supervision and training are essential to the formation of character, the creation of a sense of personal and civic duty, and the production of skilled and efficient workmen. It is of the highest importance,

then, that all parents should realize that there must be no break between the Day School and the Continuation School.

For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the Continuation Classes and of rendering the instruction more directly practical, the subjects (other than elementary) have been grouped into courses, such as English, Commercial, Technical, and Art Courses for Boys and Girls, and Domestic Courses for Girls only. These specialized courses, which have been allocated among the different Schools in the various parts of the city, should prove a valuable aid to pupils who enter upon an industrial or commercial pursuit.

A prospectus giving full information with regard to the various courses and subjects of study will be forwarded for your perusal in the course of a few weeks, and the Board trust that you will do your utmost to persuade any young people under your care to enrol in one or other of the Continuation Classes.

The Headmaster of the Day School will be pleased to grant you an interview on the subject before the close of the present session, or during the month of September. Further details and advice regarding the courses of study most suited to prepare Boys and Girls for their prospective occupations may be had by parents or intending students on application to the Director of the Educational Information and Employment Bureau.

The not distant future will see an active extension of vocational guidance in the schools. Conscientious teachers desire to be of service to the boys and girls and welcome every opportunity which strengthens them for increasing usefulness. Whether as paid or unpaid advisers, there will be an increase, both inside and outside the school system, of vocational counselors. In the Young Men's Christian Associations, notably that of Boston, where Mr. Frank P. Speare has for several years been actively interested in systematic vocational counsel, in church education committees, university extension courses, neighborhood centres, as well as in the school systems, significant beginnings in vocational guidance are in process of organization. Expert counsel will be rare, however, and errors common, but the obligation to deal with the present situation is insistent. Earnest, humble, open-minded, and energetic effort to equip one's self or a system for better guidance than now obtains is imperative.

In the very effort sincerely to meet the present need of intelligent guidance there is good. The

coöperation between the world of work and school life, the teacher and the employer, the parent and the counselor cannot fail of genuine helpfulness, of corrective value, and of mutual service.

V

THE VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

OBVIOUSLY the carrying out of a plan for vocational guidance must centre in some responsible and competent individual. A committee or an association can do much in stimulating public opinion and in the gathering of resources. But such work done well requires that it be the special business, indeed the life-work, of some qualified man or woman.

Undoubtedly, a new profession, that of the vocational counselor, is developing. The conditions of the time call for it, and whatever the volunteer may do in inspiring young people for the serviceable life, it is certain that professional responsibility can alone achieve the hard-earned results of this difficult work. The duties of the person charged with the management of a vocation bureau are many. They cover a wide range of activity and relationship. They call for persistent study, investigation, and energy.

THE VOCATIONAL COUNSELOR

The work of guidance is, at best, delicate and difficult. Helping to develop purpose, to light the pathway of pursuits, and to shape the careers of the doubting, the eager, and the ambitious is a task that calls for exceptional qualities of intelligence and consecration. In order that the movement for vocational guidance may not suffer, it is important that standards and ideals for this work be maintained at the highest possible level. The best service in the community should be enlisted in the work. Fortunately, the idea of vocational assistance to young people appeals to all thinking men and women, and it should not be hard with definite plan and energetic purpose to secure the largest measure of coöperation.

Now it is essential for any community undertaking the work of guidance to set before themselves the steps in the furtherance of the enterprise. In a subsequent chapter will be discussed some of the dangers and pitfalls which may attend the work of vocational guidance. The purpose here is to outline some details of organization and the functions of the vocational coun-

selor, executive director, or whatever may be the name for the person in charge.

The first suggestion to those about to open a city or school vocation bureau is — go slowly. If the right foundations are not laid before considerable work in counseling is begun, it is certain that the best kind of work cannot be done. At least a year should be devoted to a preliminary investigation of local resources, of the environment, and of the social and vocational problems of the children. Frequent conferences should be held, attended by the representatives of all the interests that may be expected to co-operate. The business man, the manufacturer, the labor-union official, the school-teacher, the truant officer, and the social worker are all needed in such conferences. It should be made the duty of some committee with a well-paid secretary, who may be regarded as in training for the eventual position of vocational counselor, to make a careful canvass of the professional and wage-earning opportunities in the town, city, or county, and get into personal relation with working children and their parents in order to understand their prob-

lems. Chapters of this vocational survey may be made the topics for discussion at regular meetings. One of the main results of these conferences will be a consensus of opinion as to what is to be sought for in the proposed vocation bureau. In the beginning views will differ, and until a definite conclusion is reached the executive cannot be anything but confused and hampered in his work. Some will aim for an educational programme, some for an apprenticeship arrangement in local industries, and others again for the placing of boys and girls in shops and stores. All these views represent elements of value to the project, but time and patient discussion alone can work out a programme that will receive general assent.

It may happen that the differences of viewpoints are almost irreconcilable, one party aiming for the short haul of immediate results, and another for the longer haul of social and educational readjustment. No little skill will be required to shape a work which, while serving urgent and immediate needs, yets points unhesitatingly toward the infinitely more important

task of laboring for the right conditions, the right education, and the public sentiment that will deal constructively with the vocational interests of young people before they become problems.

Little may be expected from a work which begins in a spirit of destructive criticism. Vocational interest in youth is not a new thing. What is new, however, is the intelligent energy with which that problem is now being attacked in various places. No one element is responsible for present conditions; least of all may the teachers be charged with neglect, for they have not been given the opportunity to equip themselves in a thorough way for the task of vocational assistance. No body of men and women will be found more responsive than the teaching force in any locality; but obviously those charged with the responsibilities of guidance must be given leisure and the resources to prepare themselves adequately.

The person selected to conduct a vocation bureau must possess executive ability, initiative, resourcefulness, and an education which combines both academic and industrial knowledge.

A varied experience as a manual worker and in commercial and professional work is a good recommendation. It may well be that a working man or woman who has earned a college education will be found best qualified. It is also likely that some one occupying a responsible position in a business or educational institution and possessing a keen interest in the problems of youth may be of the type desired and should be induced to accept the appointment. The method used by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in selecting men as members or paid secretaries for committees is suggestive. A terse and definite plan is laid out for the committee under consideration. The type of man desired and a list of qualifications that he should possess are agreed upon. The names suggested are then marked according to the degree and special fitness for the service in question. A blank form made up for this purpose is used, and those who are given the highest rating are invited to serve.

The type of person best adapted for the position of vocational director can only be deter-

mined by the residents of each locality. A rural community, the county, or a small town will probably call for qualifications different from those which a city vocation bureau requires. The predominant vocational interests of a community are an important element in determining the type of director. It should be remembered that the committee which chooses its executive is doing a work of vocational guidance, and it must apply, in a sense, the principles which are to guide their own executive in the work.

The argument for caution and careful planning is not intended to discourage the undertaking of actual counseling. As early as practicable interviews may be granted to a small number day by day. Perhaps the data at hand are insufficient for good counseling. This fact should be made known to the applicant. Nevertheless, service is always rendered by stimulating one to think aloud about one's own problems. The chief value of any interview lies in the self-disclosures and the reactions of the applicant.

The relations between the counselor and the

applicant cannot be formal, official, or temporary. They must be friendly, intimate, and more or less continuous. What makes the appointment of vocational directors or counselors in schools, settlements, or like organizations so desirable is the opportunity for long contact with the individuals. A single interview is seldom sufficient for service that is worth while. Parents and teachers who enjoy years of opportunity for studying the make-up of a boy or girl find it hard enough to ascertain the vocational bent of the child. Prolonged, earnest effort on the part of the counselor is imperative, and a corresponding effort on the part of the applicant, or the service fails of value.

Of prime importance is the economic equipment of the counselor and the Bureau. Guesswork and vague generalizations about social problems, the conditions of employment, and occupational facts, will discredit the work. An essential element in the counselor's service is intimate knowledge of what is going on in the store, factory, and office. He must investigate, weigh, interpret, and apply vocational facts.

At present it is very doubtful whether psychological tests can be used to advantage by the counselor. Clues of value may be found in the elementary tests for vision, hearing, muscular sense, association time, and the quickness of perception. Laboratory psychology, however, is not far enough advanced to enable one to fathom bent and aptitude. The common-sense tests of experience are more reliable guides. A color-blind boy cannot become a locomotive engineer, nor can a deaf girl be a stenographer, though she may well be a copyist and typewriter. Medical inspection for mental and physical defects is useful and should be suggested to the applicant. Too free a use of laboratory methods and apparatus in connection with bureau work, at the present time, will confuse and mislead, and the applicant who becomes excited and apprehensive is not in the right frame of mind for the relationship desired. The fact must not be lost sight of that the vocation bureau is neither a laboratory nor a clinic.

A thorough acquaintance with local and other resources is needed by the counselor, and his

facility in connecting the appropriate resources with the needs of the individual applicant will count for much in his work. The Bureau can only in the course of years and with a large expenditure of money become the repository for every kind of information that may be called for. An important part of the counselor's programme is the skillful utilization of existing sources of information and service. There are men and women in almost every occupation who would be willing to coöperate with the bureau, serving as special advisers and perhaps employers for selected individuals. It is not to be supposed that the Bureau director can master the important details of every pursuit. Thus it may be necessary to consult an architect or physician with reference to the conditions or changing demands in their respective callings. Problems may arise with reference to the ability or the circumstances of some particular young man or young woman, and the help of a representative of the profession in question, acting as a vocational "big brother," will prove of great value.

The guidance of youth in vocations cannot

confine its scope to the mechanical or commercial alone. The multiplication of vocational schools, including those in medicine, dentistry and law; the inferior standards and the pecuniary motives of many of them; and the overcrowding of the liberal professions by the unfit and the ill-equipped, give rise to questions of the gravest character in advising as to these careers. Prof. Felix Adler has said that one of the difficulties he has encountered in advising some young men was in impressing them with the gap between their admiration and their endowments for a vocation. The counselor's duty of stimulating is great, but it is primarily his business to deal with facts, and he must be guided by a sense of responsibility for the advice he gives.

There is a considerable literature which the counselor must familiarize himself with, and much of it he may prescribe for reading and study by the applicant. Excellent vocational handbooks such as "Vocations for the Trained Woman," published by the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, "Trades for London Boys," and "Trades for London Girls" (already

referred to in this book), Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon's "Handbook of Employments," Dr. Charles R. Richards' Report to the New York State Department of Labor in 1908, and others may be found in the public libraries and might well be part of every school library. Unfortunately, we have not as yet in this country a series of cheap and practical vocational primers dealing with the occupations similar to those published in various German cities. One series of tiny booklets published in Leipzig, and costing not more than a few cents apiece, covers almost one hundred different vocations, — the chemist, the tinsmith, the teacher, the merchant, the cook, the waiter, the druggist, the farmer, the sailor, the tapestry-maker, and many others. "What Am I To Be?" is the title of this series.

Before long an awakened interest in vital vocational information may yet regard such booklets as worthy of a place in the school and college curriculum. Until the educational authorities take up this task it will remain the privilege of far-sighted philanthropy or private enterprise to

make available to all such practical knowledge of the occupations.

The duties of the counselor outlined in this chapter must impress one as sufficient to absorb the working hours of any individual. One of the very first provisions must be for the training of assistants in research and advising. These may be paid or volunteer workers. The experiences gained in a vocation bureau are so valuable that persons of superior qualifications may be interested to enlist in this tangible social service.

Eventually the fruits of private initiative in vocational guidance must lead to the establishing of school and public vocation bureaus and to courses of preparation for this specialized service in our normal and professional schools.

In the fall of 1910, a normal course for school counselors was opened in the Boston English High School, under the direction of the Vocation Bureau, and continued throughout the school year. It presented to the teacher-advisers the principles and problems involved in vocational guidance, and by means of talks by representative business men, employers, manufacturers, and professional

men and women, brought into the public school a useful working knowledge of the many opportunities and occupations open to Boston boys and girls.

A question that will constantly arise in vocation bureau work is its relation to employment and to employment agencies. Our discussion thus far should have made clear the fundamental aims of a vocation bureau. An office for individual counseling and for studying the problems of social and educational readjustment will need very large resources to superadd an employment office. This latter is no small business, and requires far more investigation and study than are ordinarily given. While a vocation bureau gladly finds many incidental occasions to suggest openings for its applicants, it will fail of its purpose if its constructive functions become sidetracked. A separate department or organization is necessary for considerable employment work, but there can be and should be the closest cooperation between a vocation bureau and placement work of any kind. Employment managers of large stores and factories should be kept in

touch with the vocation bureau, not only for the benefit of those who, under proper conditions, may be referred to them for work, but chiefly because the adoption of vocation bureau methods and ideals in industry may ultimately become the bureau's largest contribution to social welfare.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

VI

SOME CAUTIONS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

THE work of vocational guidance cannot reasonably be expected to go on free of error and mishap. Differences of opinion as to what such work should be, as to what are its proper aims and how to carry them out, will give varied phases to the movement. Local application of the bureau idea will differ in different localities, and doubtless, there will be much to learn and much to undo before a sound basis is attained.

Not found wanting will be the exploiter and the charlatan, advertising such guidance as the new key to success. Every community will have to be on guard against vocational guidance for profit.

At what age shall vocational suggestion and guidance begin in the school? Prof. Paul H. Hanus, who was Chairman of the Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education, has with reference to vocational training answered the

question also for vocational guidance. The years up to fourteen, he maintains, should be enriched with all that a broad and liberal curriculum can give. From fourteen to sixteen years, differentiation, not specialization, in school work may take place along the lines of the probable occupations of the boys who are not going to a classical high school or college, and with regard to the predominant industries of the locality. This in order to develop general vocational intelligence. Prior to the fourteenth year, however, it is desirable that school work include vocational enlightenment, for example, talks on familiar trades and professions, excursions by classes or groups of children to shops, stores, offices, and vocational schools, and manual training.

Applying these suggestions to guidance in the elementary schools, there is first a fundamental need of stimulating the ideal of vocational purpose. School work inspired by the "Life-career motive" is the ideal of the progressive educator. As thousands of children must go directly to work from the grammar school, the vocational director or the school counselor, where they are

appointed (as in Boston), should get into touch with the boys and girls and their parents in order to work out gradually the question of the best possible occupation. No small part of this work will be in the endeavor to find a way to continue the schooling of these boys and girls.

The vocational decision, when made, should represent chiefly the conclusion reached by the boy or girl, young man or woman, or whoever the individual advised may be. Decision is not the business of the counselor, but that of the applicant. The counselor is there for suggestion, inspiration, and coöperation. The over-zealous school counselor who "prescribes" vocations is quite likely to commit the error of forcing problems on children prematurely. He should also be on guard against mistaking what is probably a child's play and make-believe for a vocational bent.

Without a genuine personal touch, the counselor's work with the applicant is not of the best. Human beings, not "cases," are before him, and therefore a mechanical treatment of bureau problems is intolerable. If the possession of accurate vo-

cational information is desirable, no less so is the giving it without bias. A counselor prejudiced in favor of a particular line of pursuits, be they industrial, academic or what not, is vitiating the value of his services. No vocation bureau can fulfill its mission which leans toward one or another of the departments of human endeavor. Its business is to deal with facts, impartially, honestly and vigorously. To be suspected of one-sided sympathy is to lose a chance for large community service.

An even more serious indictment would be the dispensing with the programme of analytical work on the part of the applicant, and converting the bureau into an office for a short cut to jobs. Some employers will be found ready to take advantage of any laxity in the bureau's standards. When a vocation bureau degenerates into an agency merely for supplying young people to employers, the time has come to close it up. As has been already suggested, the placing of young people in employment calls for most careful investigation and organization. Without a system of supervision, without a plan for the

definite training of every child it helps send into uninstructive employment, and without a definite educational agreement with every employer who is thus served, the vocation bureau with other than incidental employment features must only intensify existing evil conditions of juvenile labor.

Every adviser has become familiar with the types who seek occult assistance. They are morbidly introspective. The relation to their fellows and to their work is not normal. An unwholesome selfishness distinguishes them. The personal data sheets or printed list of personal questions, such as the counselor may prepare for the applicant, cannot be used automatically, and with reference to the type of applicant here in question they will usually prove worthless. Personal analysis is like a drug habit with these people, and before vocational suggestion of value can be given, the counselor will probably find it necessary to deal frankly with their mental and emotional make-up. The vocation bureau is not equipped for service in the field of abnormal psychology. Its rigorous common-sense methods

should be sufficient to deter the coming of those who need other than the Bureau's help. The bureau must ever be on guard against dabbling in subjects foreign to its powers.

In dealing with the life problems of young people a sane conservatism in the methods of analysis must prevail, a sharp sense of responsibility controlling the work of the vocational director. The methods he uses and the suggestions he makes are all fraught with serious consequences. No other work calls more insistently for good sense and careful judgment. Misguidance is a constant possibility in bureau work. With a number of counselors in the field, and with the extension of this service through both public and private endeavor everywhere, the dangers multiply. Good intentions cannot excuse the lack of care and adequate equipment on the part of the advisers.

The applicant himself is a factor in the bureau's liability to disservice. To answer a list of personal questions, either orally or in writing, honestly and satisfactorily, is a difficult process. Not many people can face themselves objectively.

Inability as well as unwillingness to do so may be the reason. Exploring the vocational possibilities of a troubled or discouraged applicant calls for a large expenditure of thought and energy. No progress can be made if the applicant does not meet the director's exertions in a coöperative spirit. The margin for error and misjudgment is large at best, and the applicant must attend faithfully to the reading, the investigating, and the written work required of him.

There is no royal road to infallible guidance. Pretentious claims do not belong to the legitimate vocation bureau. What may be confidently expected during the early years of this work is mitigation of the prevailing anarchy during the decisive years of school and occupational changes through energetic application of science and sympathy to this problem. To sum up the principal dangers which the movement may encounter, attention is directed against forcing children into premature seriousness, wholesale counseling, too little personal relationship, absence of research work, superficial suggestion, vocational bias, job-finding instead of constructive social service, ex-

ploitation, pretentiousness, and inferior equipment of the executive and the bureau. Mistakes are inevitable in this endeavor to help the coming generation to find itself, but a high standard of service and of social responsibility can alone insure against their too frequent repetition.

VII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC GAINS THROUGH VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

THE Vocational Guidance movement belongs to those efforts of our time making for the enhancement of individual and social life. Common action has become more easy; social insight and the will to serve have increased. The movement for husbanding the serving powers of youth is a practical expression of the deeper motives underlying the conservation enterprises of our day.

Closer contact with the life of the struggling, and revelations of their capacity for better vocational purposes than many now serve strengthen the conviction that the field of employment in even its humblest aspect will not long remain untouched by the reconstructive hand of our generation. Perhaps a deeper discernment will disclose the "one talent which is death to hide" as the possession of even the humblest, and we shall no longer find contentment in a quiescent

pity for the unsuccessful by the fulsome bestowal of honors on those who have won out. It is a sad fatalism which regards our waste of human material as necessary to the cultivation of the captains and leaders of men. A finer understanding of human possibilities refutes this elemental notion.

The vocations themselves are undergoing profound changes. New ideals of their functions are prophetic of the demands they will make upon their future practitioners. The new opportunities belong to those who can apprehend the changing situation.

Preventive medicine offers departments of service as varied as society itself, and specialists in social health will find modern life eager for their ministrations. The profession of law, conservative though it be, is calling for the lawyer with intelligence for constructive social legislation and the skill to apply adequate legal principles to vexed industrial relations; the architect and the builder are needed in a housing solution for modern urban congestion; and the real-estate operator and the transportation expert are called upon

to contribute their foresight and their skill to the working out of a city plan. Whatever overcrowding there may be in the conventional grooves of the vocations, none has as yet taken place in their latest and socialized form. It is the privilege of the vocational counselor to watch for these new outlets in vocational service, and to guide the fit into promising avenues of usefulness.

A young Bohemian, undergraduate in a large university, was preparing himself for the law. His father is a Pennsylvania coal-miner, and during the summer the young man helped him in the colliery, earning enough in that way to pay for his board and tuition during the college year. He came to the Vocation Bureau of Boston with questions as to what prospects for successful practice among Americans a young foreigner like himself could expect. It was clear that this intelligent and energetic young man would get along, and he was reassured on this point, but it seemed important to remind him that very few of his nationality had achieved the advantages of life in a great New England university, that his people had few representatives indeed who could

interpret them to Americans and America to them, and that his largest success would lie as a well-trained lawyer in not detaching himself from his own, but in serving both them and the Americans in the opportunities that would surely be his.

Signs are not wanting in the liberal professions, in manufacturing, in business, and indeed in most occupations, of a growing band of practical idealists who conceive their pursuits in terms of community service as well as of livelihood.

They are giving new life to old callings and are stimulating the youth of our land to new measurements of achievement. We have been for so long awed by the wonderful subdivision and specialization in the vocations that we have forgotten the most impressive fact about them. This is their social interdependence. As we become more sensitive to social organization, we perceive how superficial is the barrier of vocation. The scientific classification of flowers and trees does not make nature less an organic whole. So the promotion of special schools and training

courses for the development of skill in particular vocations cannot make less real the fraternity of workers. Zones of influence and consequences reach far beyond the view of the individual worker who causes them. A fundamental value in liberal vocational training is the sense it brings to the student of his relationships. We pursue our callings in forgetfulness of the essential "team play" in working life, and the vocational guidance which brings to light one's interplay of work with that of his fellows, contributes toward lifting the daily stint above the commonplace.

The demand upon the vocations each for its distinctive social contribution carries with it a corresponding ideal for the vocational career as a whole. We have been proceeding on an unsound assumption that for the many the dynamic period of youthful growth is intended for a static period of struggle for the daily bread. The young worker's pathetic snatches at growth throughout long days of drudgery, his surreptitious reading of a book at the bench, the day-dreaming and the cravings for self-realization, the petty infractions of rules, continually illuminate the resist-

ance of young human nature against the prospect of stagnation.

Only a conception of working life as continuing education can appease the God-given hungers of youth. This is not fancy. We find successful business houses proud of the types of men and women they develop by the educational opportunities they afford their employees, and this not as charity but as fundamental good business. Developing the intelligence of the employees and satisfying their instinct for educational experience in the work they are doing has become the self-assumed duty of the most enlightened employers. The socially imaginative business man, manufacturer, and professional man are joining hands with the progressive educator in the call for more educational returns from the wage-earning career.

Of what use are the sacrifices made in the training and guidance of youth if the subsequent conditions of employment nullify their value? The fitting of youth for appropriate life pursuits cannot proceed without a corresponding fitness on the part of the occupations themselves. The

readjustments in education will have to go hand in hand with like readjustments in the avenues of occupation. Work and school cannot be safely kept apart in a democracy. Each has a vital meaning to the other, and they must share in common the burden of fitting the coming generation for its best achievements. Alike they must share this vision and this purpose, or else vocational chaos will continue its disastrous course.

Society willingly invests its young blood in the world of wage-earning, and in return it asks cooperation in protecting its most valuable assets. There can be no question that working life under proper conditions is youth's best discipline. The demand upon the vocations for social coöperation is not made in a spirit unappreciative of their character-building possibilities. Rather is this social challenge to the occupations a full recognition of the community's loss in the present abyss between life and a livelihood.

To these socially efficient ideals, therefore,— the enriching of school life with vocational purpose and the enriching of working life with edu-

cational purpose — the vocational guidance movement addresses itself. Whatever this movement may in the course of its experience propose to the people for social correction, there will not be found wanting the clear aim to serve the best interests of the vocation quite as much as those of the worker. Education, the professions, industry and commerce all belong to our children. To conserve their inheritance and to lift them to their future opportunities, the friends of the vocational guidance movement join those who labor for youth and a sound citizenship.

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